

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 36.---No. 6.] LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 22, 1820. [Price, 6d.]

TO
THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL,
*On Mr. Heathfield's Plan for
paying off the National Debt.*

London, 18th April, 1820.

MY LORD,

Rather more than sixteen years ago, I, in a letter addressed to Mr. ADDINGTON, who then filled the office which you now fill, observed, that the "Fund-Monster would, if not arrested in his course in time, totally destroy the liberties of this country, and, in the end, level all ranks in society." Whether any part of this prediction has been fulfilled already, I shall leave others to say, that being, "under existing circumstances," the safest course to pursue. Nor shall I say, whether the other part is in a fair way of fulfilment. But a plan having been published for paying off the debt, and this plan being very popular, and being likely to be acted upon, I beg leave to offer to your Lordship some remarks upon that plan.

The principles upon which Mr. HEATHFIELD proceeds is this: that the Fund-holder is to be viewed, in all respects, as a creditor in private life is viewed; that he has lent his money on mortgage; that he has a real lien, or tie, or hold, in the nature of a mortgage, which runs over all the property, real and personal, that is to be found in any and every part of the king's European dominions; and that, consequently, when a gentleman of this class rides from London to York, on the top of a stage coach, he, in looking over parks, manors and chaces, consistently and truly says, "I am part owner of all these, and my title is as good, and, perhaps, more clear, than the title of those who call these estates their own." And, further, that the mortgage of the Fundholder is better than that of any other person; that it has a claim prior to all other mortgages upon the same estate; that it is good against life-holds, as well as against possession in fee-simple; and that, in short, no man can,

Printed and Published by C. Clement, 26D, Strand.

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in strict propriety of language, call any thing *his own*, not even the shirt on his back, until this mortgage be paid off. Some have doubted whether "*public faith*" would compel the people to give up their wearing apparel; but as to house and land, and stock in trade, and household furniture, and cattle of all sorts, there appears to be no doubt at all; and, by common consent, the Fundholder seems to have a real mortgage on all these.

As to the *correctness* of these principles, I must confess, that I have always doubted, and my doubts still remain. But, this has nothing to do with the matter. It does not signify what I *think*, or *wish*. It is what is *likely to be done* that is now the interesting question; and, in order to come at something like a correct opinion as to what is likely to be done, it seems to me necessary to inquire a little into what *can* be done in the way of paying off the debt.

Mr. Heathfield, not appearing to doubt of the ready admission of the Fundholders' claim, proceeds to inquire, whether it be proper and convenient to pay it off, and, having

settled the question in the affirmative, he next looks into the nature, extent, and *value of things mortgaged*. And, with the greatest fairness, and with a coolness which is quite admirable; he settles the rate or portion at which men's estates are to be taken from them, and sold *for the benefit of the mortgagees*.

I beg leave, here, to observe, that I am far from disapproving of this "*general contribution*," as Mr. Heathfield calls it. For, how does the case stand? It is well known that the late wars were undertaken and carried on for the preservation of *rank, property, and religion*. We are the most cheated nation on earth, if that was not the case. We know that the wars never could have been carried on but by the means of *borrowed money*. Therefore, those who lent that money have a right to say, that it was *they* who, in fact, preserved the *rank, property, and religion* of the country. Certainly, then, it would be injustice in the extreme, for the nobility, gentry, and clergy, and other people of property, to refuse to pay those who thus lent their money. This is so *clear*, that there can, I think,

be no doubt upon the subject. I am aware that I may be told, that I formerly held opinions different from this. But, my lord, if time have not taught me wisdom, it has (as to this matter, at least) taught me something else, quite as useful, "in existing circumstances," as any wisdom in the world. I, therefore, admit the Freeholders' claim on the *lands*, at least; because, whatever else might be said about the matter, I do not see that the *people* would receive any injury at all from a part (and a large part it must be) of the land being placed in the hands of the Fundholders.

But, though I agree with Mr. Heathfield in the justice of the claim, and though I wish him success, with all my heart, in obtaining full satisfaction of the Debt due to the Fundholders, I must be allowed to say, that I think him greatly deceived as to the *amount of the means*. And yet this is a capital point; for, if the nation's property be *mortgaged for more than the worth*, what is then to become of a part of the claim? Indeed the Fundholders may take *all* the lands, houses, mines and canals, and that ought to satisfy them; but I am not sure that it

would. However, imprisonment on the mortgage lands would be out of the question. The mortgagees must take the estates, and there would be an end of the matter.

Mr. Heathfield, in his estimate of the means, or *assets*, follows, or rather takes, that of Mr. (now *Doctor*) COLQUHOUN. How this great and able Thief-detecting Justice *came at* his grounds of estimate, your Lordship may possibly know. But whether he found them in the Bow-street Police-office, or in that of the Thames, I am quite sure that his estimate is as *false* as any of the thieves he ever had to deal with. His *thief-estimate*, which represented every *third* soul met in the streets of London as a *criminal* in the eye of the law, was a bold adventure enough; but, nothing compared with his estimate of the property of the kingdom. If the writing of two such books did not make a man worthy of having the title of *Doctor*, I do not know what would.

Upon the authority of this Police-Doctor Mr. Heathfield supposes the *property* of the kingdom to be *worth* 2,500 millions! The Doctor, indeed,

says 2,740 millions; but Mr. Heathfield likes *round* numbers, and very liberally throws off 240 millions. In this estimate *all* property is included, and the estimate was *made in* 1812, when, as every one well knows, property was worth nearly, if not quite, twice as much, nominally, as it is now. Wheat was almost double its present price, and almost all other things were in the same proportion. So that, in this respect, Mr. Heathfield has not dealt fairly either by the Police-Doctor or by the public. When the Doctor made his estimate the pound note was worth about 15 shillings, and it is now (as long as people will take it) worth nearly 20s. Rents have greatly fallen since the Doctor's estimate was made. So that, on this view of the matter, we cannot, even if we look upon the Doctor as having been correct, look upon the of the things mortgaged as exceeding 1,800 millions.

But, I dispute and disclaim and reject the Doctor's estimate altogether, while I thank him for getting made a Doctor, as it spares me the trouble of writing his long and ugly name. He has *no grounds* for his estimate even of the

value of the *houses* and the *lands*; and how is any man in his senses to believe it *possible* for any human being to make any thing like a correct estimate of the value of *stock in trade*, *house-hold goods*, *cattle*, *sheep*, *pigs*, *rabbits*, and all other manifold things which constitute the property of a whole people? I shall offer no such whimsical estimate; but shall produce some rational grounds for the estimate that I have to present upon the subject.

In 1804 an *account* of the *annual rental* of *England and Wales* was printed by order of the House of Commons. That rental, including all real property, houses, buildings of all kinds, lands of all kinds, mines and canals, amounted to *thirty-eight millions*. Taking Scotland and Ireland, according to the sum total of taxes that they yielded, the whole kingdom, at that time, would have yielded a *rental* of *forty-nine millions*. Now, looking at the average price of wheat for *seven* years previous to 1803, when the facts for making out this account were collected, and, comparing that average with the average of the seven years which have just now passed, we shall be

able to form something like a judgment of what the real property of the whole kingdom is now worth.

The rental, as all the world knows, is the true criterion of value. It is not what an owner fancies a farm to be worth; nor what he thinks it worth; nor what value he puts upon it, but what it will bring. Tythes, of course, are included in the rental of the nation; that is to say, their annual worth. So that, when we know the real annual rack rent of all the houses, buildings, lands, mines, canals, and tythes, we can easily say what they are worth in the fee simple.

The rental of all these, in the whole kingdom, in 1804, or, rather, in 1803, amounted to *forty-nine millions*. But, in order to know what that rental is now, we must see what had, for seven years previous to 1803, been the *average price of wheat*, and what that average has been for the last seven years. During the seven years previous to 1803, the average price of wheat had been *fourteen shillings a bushel*. During the seven years which have just now passed, the average price of wheat has been *nine shillings*. So that,

if the rental amounted to *forty-nine millions* in 1803, it now amounts to *thirty-one millions*. And, indeed, can any one believe, that it amounts to more, when we hear it declared, from various parts of England, that the *poor-rates exceed in amount the rack rent of the property assessed*? The fact is notorious, that the rents have, in reality, fallen nearly *one half* in many parts; and we estimate, therefore, very highly, if we take the whole rental at *thirty-one millions*.

Now, then, as to the worth of this property, that yields such a rental, what can it be? Houses and buildings are not worth *twelve years purchase*. Mines and canals may be worth as many years purchase as the houses. The land may be worth *26 years*, supposing *perfect confidence to exist*; but it is not worth that at present. And, taking the whole together, it cannot be worth more than about *seventeen or eighteen years purchase*. However, allow it to be worth *18 years purchase*, then the capital, or fee-simple, is worth *five hundred and fifty-eight millions*.

This is a result very different indeed from that on which Mr.

Heathfield proceeds. He supposes the *real property* to be worth 1,250 millions, and he does not include the *tythes* that I can perceive! But, he really has no foundation on which to go; his is mere *guess-work*; and the *roughest* guess it is that ever was made by mortal man. As to the *other property*; I mean property other than *real property*, how is it possible to come at it? We shall, bye-and-bye see, what would be the difficulties in getting at the real property; but, as to the *personals*, who can invent a scheme of seizing hold of them, or even of *ascertaining* their value, were it only in one single parish?

Mr. Heathfield proposes first to make his *assessment*; then to tell each man how much he has to *give up*; then to take the amount from him by instalments; and, with the *money*, pay off the fund-holders. However, is it, my Lord, worth while to proceed? We will; but, first let us take a large view of the thing. Here is a nation with *all its property mortgaged*. No matter who are the mortgagees, though we are constantly told, that the mortgage is *no inconvenience* to us, because *some of us* are the mortgagees; that we

owe the debt to *each other*, and that, therefore, the nation, upon the whole, is *neither richer nor poorer on account of the debt*. These were very pretty notions for about *ten years ago*; but, they are now grown out of vogue. We do now find, that, some how or other, the Debt is a *great inconvenience*; and that, unless it can be lessened, we cannot get on.

Here, then, we are inventing schemes to *pay off a mortgage*. And, why are we so eager to pay off this mortgage *now*? We went on contracting the mortgage; adding to its weight; increasing it, in all sorts of ways; and, what is more, those who expressed their alarm at this, were either laughed at as *fools*, or punished (in some way or other) as *disaffected* and *disloyal* persons. But, *now*, all of a sudden, we are frightened at the amount of the mortgage, and wish to *pay it off*? And *why*? Because, we are *reduced to misery by the payment of the interest*! We cannot pay the interest any longer, without *total ruin*, and without *real starvation* to millions. And, *therefore*, we propose to *pay off the principal*! What makes us unable to pay the interest? Why,

our want of a sufficient income ; our want of a sufficiency of means ; our *poverty*, in short. And yet it is presumed, that we are *rich enough to pay off the principal* !

Suppose me (I wish it were nothing other than supposition) to have a mortgage upon my estate, which, owing to the diminution of the quantity of paper-money, and the consequent fall in prices, will not let for enough to pay the interest in full, and, that the mortgagee wants his interest duly paid up. What would any man think of me, if I were to talk of getting rid of my incumbrance by *paying off the principal* of the mortgage ? He would think me *mad*, to be sure. He would seize the estate, and let me get on as I could.

Now, it is very certain, that, upon the principle of Mr. Heathfield ; namely, that the fund-holders have a mortgage upon all the land and houses, and from which principle I by no means venture to dissent ; upon this principle, my above-supposed situation, is the situation of every owner (or supposed owner) of real property in this kingdom ; seeing that the whole

of the real property is worth only about *five or six hundred millions*, and that the amount of the mortgage, which the fund-holders have on that property, is about *nine hundred millions*.

Your Lordship may possibly, and Mr. Heathfield will certainly, say : " How can this be : how " can the real property be worth " so little, when we see, that the " interest of the nine hundred " millions is *now duly paid* ; " though with *difficulty* ; and " we see, that the *Land-owners* " *live very well besides* ? " Aye, but this interest is not now paid by them, who pay, indeed, but a very, very small part of it. It is paid chiefly, *now*, out of the *earnings of labour* ! But, if we come to *pay off*, the assessors will find, that they have, in labour, *nothing to seize*. Labour lies in the bones, muscles, blood, and flesh and brains ; and they cannot take part of these *away*. They cannot put these up to sale. They cannot exchange these for stock, either *threes* or *fives*, or *threes and a half*. Labour is the golden eggs, *not yet laid*. We know very well, that the present revenue, saved for eighteen years, would pay off

the whole of the Debt; but, this revenue is *wanted yearly*; and, besides, it comes out of the earnings of labour, which are the true riches of a nation, and the sum of which is daily diminishing in this country.

Your Lordship will, therefore, dismiss, at once, all that tribe of projectors, who calculate the worth of the nation's real property upon the basis of the revenue, which has nothing at all to do with the worth of that property; or, at least, it is no basis, whereon to found a valuation of that property.

The case of a man, whose estate is mortgaged for more than it will now sell for, is little different from that of a man, in trade, who stands upon borrowed capital, and who cannot any longer pay the interest on the money that he has borrowed. The lender complains that the interest is not duly paid. And what would be thought of the borrower, if he were to talk of getting rid of this difficulty by *paying off the principal*? It may be said, that he may sell off his stock in trade to pay the money-lender with. But, what nonsense is this? He has no

stock in hand. His stock does not belong to him. He must owe some one for it. He may, indeed, give up his stock; and the land-holder may give up his land; but this is the only way in which they can possibly pay off any part of their debts.

With this general view in our recollection, we will proceed to ask Mr. Heathfield how he would go to work to get at the personal property. In this is included every thing moveable. Household goods, stock in trade, ships, tools, machines, plate, jewels, books, and all other things inanimate; horses, mules, asses, cattle, sheep, hogs, dogs, poultry, rabbits, and, perhaps, hares, pheasants, and partridges. All these are included in the Police-Doctor's estimate, and this estimate is the basis of Mr. Heathfield's plan. Now, in the first place, who is to make the *assessment*? Who is to put a value on the various things in a *chandler's shop*? Who is to go and value the rags and kettles in the labourer's cottage? And yet, all these come into the estimate of the nation's property? Who is to go to a haberdasher's shop, or an ironmonger's, or any other shop, and take stock preparatory

to an assessment? And yet, unless the stock be actually taken, how is an assessment to be made?

However, suppose this difficulty to be got over, what is next to be done? Why, to tell the haberdasher, for instance, that he is to pay the amount of a *sixth part* of his stock in trade. What! whether it be his own or not? Whether he, in fact, be *solvent*, or not? He owes for the stock, or for a great part of it, or, at least, for some of it. His property may, possibly, consist in part of money in his pocket; part of his savings may be in book-debts. He himself can hardly say what he has, and what he has not. How, then, will you assess him? And yet assess this man you must, or, you must give up all this species of property. Merchants have no *tangible* property; or, at least, very seldom. They *owe* and are *owed to*. They live on the little that remains on the gridiron after tossing immense sums through it. They can pay, yearly, taxes out of this; but, who is to ascertain what their *capital* is? They have it not in their hands. It is *always afloat*, and in a state not to be *grasped* even by themselves.

As to house-hold goods, they, for the greater part, are necessities of life, nearly as much as the man's dinner is. There is, in this respect, very little difference between the leg of mutton and the pot that it is boiled in. And, observe, that the scheme is founded, not on the supposition of opulence and luxury being in fashion; but on the supposition of general ruin and want, from which the scheme is to relieve us.

It is said, that the proprietors of personal property may pay *in five years*; but five years' time can be no benefit; because to pay at all, they *must*, as a whole, *begin by selling*! Before they can *pay* a farthing to the Fundholder from their capital, they *must sell*; and if the whole be sellers, who are to be the *buyers*? It is nonsense to say, that they may *raise the money* in *some other way*. A whole therefore, cannot raise it any other way; and who is to *buy*? Nobody can, in the end, buy, except the Fundholders. So that, if such a scheme were practicable at all, the only possible mode of proceeding would be to take the goods from the owners, and compel the fund people to take them at the as-

sessed value, and to give up stock to a like amount in exchange.

Thus, then, it is very clear, that, after all, the assessment must be confined to *real property*, to the *Funds themselves*, and to another sort of *property* that I shall take the liberty to mention bye-and-by.

As to the *Funds*, it would be merely a *lopping off*. It would be a paying of *one sixth less* to the Fundholders than was paid to them before. But, as to the *real property*, if the scheme really be to *pay off the debt*, the whole of it must be taken and conveyed to the Fundholders. However, let us suppose that *one sixth is to be taken first*. What way will Mr. Heathfield go to work? Here is a Yeomanry Cavalry man, MR. JOLT, who was formerly called Farmer Jolt; he has a snug farm, with some white pales opposite his house. He cannot do more, though the farm be his own, than barely make both ends meet. He has not a farthing to spare. For, if this be not the *general* situation of the country, then there can be no necessity for any desperate measure of *relief*. His farm is worth six thousand pounds, and you call

upon him *for a thousand*. He is to have *ten years to pay it in*; but he is to pay *a hundred down*, and to pay interest for the other *nine hundred*, giving, of course, a mortgage to the government on his lands for the nine hundred.

Here is the Yeomanry Cavalry gentleman in a pretty state! He is as "*firmly held* and "*bounden* to our Sovereign "Lord the King, his heirs and "successors," as any printer or publisher in the realm, and has as good reason to rejoice at living under "a constitution that "is the envy of surrounding "nations, and the admiration "of the world." But how is he to get the hundred pounds? He *has them not*; mind that, my Lord. He must borrow them: and of whom? Of some Fundholder, to a certainty; and the mortgage for the nine hundred will go into the same hands. This *must* be the case; for, on any *other* supposition, the scheme is without a pretext to proceed upon.

Now, if this take place, and this is possible, it is certain, that, merely as a *farmer*, Jolt will go on; but he must work harder, and must work harder and live worse than he did be-

fore, and the Fundholder will own a part of his land. He will own more than *a sixth* part; for the interest will run on, and every year JOLT must borrow the interest he will have to pay.

When this operation has been completed, the debt will stand thus: 150 millions will have been paid off by the deduction made from the Fundholders themselves. And, supposing the assessments on real property to be rigorously made, and the collections duly enforced, nearly another 100 millions will have been liquidated by the payments to the Fundholders out of the real property. This will leave the part of real property, which will *belong to the present proprietors*, worth 448 millions, and will leave the debt 660 millions.

This will have been doing very little, and another and larger dip must be taken. This time, a *third* may, possibly, be taken. A third taken from the Fundholders, will reduce their claim to 420 millions, and the paying to them of 149 millions, to be this time taken from the land, will leave their claim to be 211 millions, and it will leave of real property, belonging to

the present owners of real property, 300 millions.

One dip more will *clear off the Debt!* Make the Fundholders give up the half of their remaining Funds, and the landowners give them the half of their remaining lands, and then the Fundholders will own about *four-fifths of the land*, and the present land owners about *one fifth!* And this, if this scheme were practicable, and were put into execution, would be the inevitable result.

But we have overlooked one capital circumstance, and that is, that the land would not sell for the half of what we have supposed. The *assessment* would be made upon the basis of *present rents* and *present prices*; but the moment the Fundholders' sixth of the debt should cease to be paid interest for, the quantity of paper-money would be greatly diminished, and, of course, rents and prices would instantly *fall*. So that the real property, instead of being worth 548 millions, would not be worth, perhaps, 300 millions; and, of course, the Fundholders would *take it all*. Let any one, who thinks himself able, attempt to prove the contrary of this, and we shall soon see the

truth of my reasoning completely confirmed.

It is, then, impossible to *pay off the Debt* with *money*. That is impossible. Indeed, upon the face of the thing it is impossible: for, whether you proceed by *instalments*, or in whatever other way, the money must come *first* or *last*. And to pay off a Debt of 900 millions, there must be possessed by the debtors 900 millions; and this, in real money, is more than there exists *in the whole world*! If the Fundholders *give up* half their claim, there is not a fiftieth part enough to pay them the other half with. And, besides, what, in the meanwhile, is to pay the Civil List, the Sinecures, Pensions, grants, army and navy? Have not all these a claim on the real property as well as the Fundholders? The Sinecures, Pensions, and Grants are always considered as *property*. Is this sort of property to remain *snug*; to lie *perdu*, while the land is taken away and given to the Fundholders? Is there to be no *pluck* at this kind of property? As for me, I am one of those, who do not think it of any consequence to the people at large, whether the Sinecures be given up to the Fundholders or not.

I only mention them as *property* very much resembling that of the Funds.

The short view of the whole matter is this: the *interest* of the Debt, if there were no other expenses, *might*, perhaps, be continued to be paid, for a few years, out of peoples' *incomes*, and out of the *fruits of labour*, which is neither more nor less than a *participation* between the rest of the nation and the Fundholders. The Fundholders receive and live upon part of the rents, profits, and earnings of the rest of the nation; and they, together with the army, navy, civil list, sinecures, pensions, and grants, receive so *large* a part of the rents, profits, and earnings, that there does not remain enough amongst the mass of the nation to encourage enterprize and industry and to keep up a sufficient creation of valuable things. *Therefore*, it is desirable to *get rid of the Debt*; but, as I have shown, this Debt *cannot be paid off* at all; and especially in the manner that Mr. Heathfield supposes it can. I think it is evident, that nothing short of a *compromise*, which will take a part of the real property and give it to the Fundholders, will do. In this

way, it certainly might be settled; but this, or a *sponge*, is, in my opinion, the only way; and, if men be not yet prepared for one or other of these, they will do well to hold their tongues about a *relieving* the country from the load of taxation.

I, for several years, urged the necessity of a *sponge* for getting rid of the Debt. But, I have never found any body to agree with me. I, therefore, give way, and now confine myself to the offering of opinions upon other peoples' projects. Men will, in spite of themselves, reason according to their interests. This is the universal practice of the world. Upon the present subject, the Landholders reason very differently from the Fundholders; and, before I speak of a *compromise*, which it is now become very fashionable to talk of, it will not be amiss to state, shortly, the reasoning on both sides.

The LANDHOLDERS say to the Fundholders: it is very true, Gentlemen, that you have lent your money to the nation, and that, if there be the means, you ought to be paid. God forbid, that we should entertain the design of paying you off with a

sponge, which would be a most horrid "breach of national faith." But, with due submission, you have *no mortgage upon our lands!* The acts of Parliament, passed by those who virtually represent every soul in the kingdom, which acts are binding on us all, as long as they are unrepealed, are, nevertheless, *repealable*: mind that! And, mind, that you knew it, too, when you lent your money. And if (which we neither expect nor wish) the Acts, which insure the payment of your interest, were to be *repealed*, no more interest would be due to you! And, bear in mind, that we have seen acts passed for setting aside the claim which the creditors of the Bank had upon it for specie, and also for putting a stop to, and, finally, wholly abrogating numerous actions, which were actually in court, against the non-resident Clergy. We allow, that to resort to a *sponge*, would be a most shocking "*breach of national faith*;" but if the nation be in Debt *beyond its means of payment*, you cannot, upon any principle known amongst men, justly demand *more than its all*. Now, as to the *mortgage*, which you appear to suppose you have

upon our *estates*, it will not, we hope, take much to convince you, that this is a *great mistake*, into which you have fallen. For, if you look into the several acts of parliament, upon the faith of which you have lent your money; if you look into those acts, which are, in fact, your mortgage deeds, you will clearly perceive, that the mortgage is granted, *not upon our estates*, but upon the *Consolidated Fund*; that is to say, upon the *taxes annually raised*, and which are called a *Fund* for some good and sufficient reason, we dare say, but which reason we have been wholly unable to discover. This *Fund*, or these *taxes*, is the thing on which you have a mortgage; and, not at all upon our estates. As long as this *Fund* yields enough to pay your interest, you will, of course, receive it duly; but, if the *Fund* fail, the acts of parliament, which are your only mortgage deeds, do not authorize you to make a demand on our estates. It must be considered, too, with regard to the *amount* of your demand; that you lent your money in *paper-coin*, and at a time, when the pound note was not worth more than about 16 shillings

upon an average; and that, if we were to pay you in gold, or in paper nearly on a par with gold, we should be great losers by the transaction. You have been duly receiving *five pounds* in the hundred interest, while we think ourselves well off if we get *three pounds*. However, there is one consideration, which outweighs all others. If we admit that you have a *real mortgage upon our estates*, we see no means of settling the matter, other than that of giving up the *estates to you*! And, then, what a change, what a *revolution* will ensue!

FUNDHOLDERS.—We do not see any very *great danger* that would arise from this. But, proceed.

LANDHOLDERS.—Not see any *great danger*! Why, then, what is there any danger in? What have we been fighting and subscribing and prosecuting for, during so many years? Has it not been to *preserve the constitution*? Has it not been to prevent all *levelling* with regard to *property and rank*? Has it not, as Mr. CANNING has so ably shown, been to prevent the pulling down of a venerable nobility and a holy church? And how are these to stand

without *their property*? Without their lands and manors and domains? If these be given up into the possession of the Fundholders: if a parcel of brokers and jobbers from 'Change Alley and a parcel of upstart traders from Philpot Lane are to come and take our lands and mansions; what is to become of the *Throne*, to uphold which you as well as we have so frequently pledged your last shilling and the last drop of your blood? If you remove us, the "*Corinthian Pillars of the State*," as BURKE so properly called us, what is to become of the State? Why, it must fall of course; and, then follows the whole destruction of "*Social Order and Religion*;" atheism will stalk unimpeded over the unhappy land, with fire, sword, and famine in its rear. Once begin to *level*, and universal confusion and destruction must inevitably follow. We beg you, therefore, to *reflect seriously*, on what you are about. We conjure you, as you love your country, as you love our happy constitution, as you love your king, and as you abhor the idea of seeing "*morals and religion* rooted out of the hearts of mankind," not to say one word

more of the imaginary mortgage that you have upon our estates, manors, and mansions.

FUNDHOLDERS. --- We are aware, Gentlemen, that few persons in the world, when in possession of things which they dislike to part with, are destitute of arguments in favour of their keeping of those things. Whatever ingenuity men may have in their minds, they fail not to employ it upon such an occasion.---We have listened to you with great attention; and, when you consider the nature of the insinuations, contained in the latter part of your argument, you will, we are persuaded, give us no small credit for our forbearance.---We have the misfortune to differ from you in opinion, not only as to your general conclusion, but as to every particular point in your argument, and for this difference we will now tender you such reasons as suggest themselves to our minds.---You tell us, that the Loan-Acts give us no mortgage upon your lands! You step aside here, and remind us, that *any acts* may be repealed, of which you give us some striking and memorable instances. We cannot help looking upon this *hint* as a sort of *menace*;

but, we pay little attention to this, seeing that you have been compelled to allow, that such *repeal*, which is, in fact, a *sponge*, would be a most *atrocious breach of national faith*. Yet we wish, that you had sense of dignity enough to refrain from throwing out such a threat.--- As to the mortgage, you say, that it is not a mortgage on your lands, but on the Consolidated Fund, that is, on *the Taxes*; and, if the *Fund fail*, the acts of parliament, by which the laws were made, do not authorize us to make any demand on the land ---It is you, and not we, that make the mistake. You merely play upon terms; and lose sight of the substance. We know very well, that the Acts, which are our mortgage deeds, give us no security other than that on the Consolidated Fund; but, then, they *pledge the nation to make that Fund sufficient to pay us our interest, without any deduction whatever*; and, moreover, to *raise a sinking fund to create a constant market for our stock*. Whether this *pledge* have been strictly adhered to up to this time, we will not now inquire; but, we are sure that you will not deny, that we have correctly described the nature and

extent of the *pledge*, on the faith of which we lent our money.---Now, Sirs, the *nation* being, by these several Acts, pledged to make the Consolidated Fund, that is, the Taxes, sufficient to pay us our interest, who is *the nation*? Why, as Mr. CANNING truly says, not the rabble, not those who have nothing, not the Radicals, not the itinerant patriots; no, but the "*Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and Freeholders*;" and that, when these are met, in any county, there is a "*real County Meeting*." All the rest of the people, as Mr. CANNING says, are *virtually represented* in these; and that, therefore, those who represent these represent *the nation*. It follows, then, necessarily, that the nation is pledged to make *the Taxes sufficient to pay us our interest*; do we *ask*, or have we ever *asked*, for any thing more than this? We propose no project for *paying off*, mind that, Sirs! No such proposition has ever come from us! We only want our interest duly paid; and, if you do not choose to continue to pay, or, if you cannot pay it; you mean, of course, to give us *something in lieu of it*; or, else, what becomes of all your

affected horror at the idea of a "breach of national faith?"--- Our case, Sirs, is plainly and shortly this: we have a mortgage on the property of the nation for as much as will pay us our interest in full; and, if we do not get our interest, we have an undoubted right to go to the property, and take as much as will make good the deficiency. From the capacity to labour we can get nothing; we can get little from personal effects; and, therefore we come to the real property, from which we will take no more than is necessary to make good that deficiency.--- You appear to be conscious of the weakness of your ground, when you deny this our right; for, you immediately follow up that denial by observing, that our demand ought to be lowered in amount, because, as you say, we lent our money, when the pound note was not worth nearly so much as it is now.---It is surprizing to what a point men are blinded by their interests! We thought, though we do, some of us, come "from Philpot-lane," that you would have the generosity to remember, that many of the Fundholders lent their money years and years before gold

ceased to circulate; and that, in fact, three hundred and fifty, out of the nine hundred millions that are now due to us, were lent to the nation in hard coin! And as to the rest, does it not stand recorded in the Journals of both Houses of Parliament, in the form of solemn resolutions, passed in 1811, that the paper-money had never depreciated in value, and that a pound note then was, and always had been, fully equal in value to twenty shillings in silver coin, fresh from the mint? With these facts before us, we really wonder, Sirs, at your attempting, by such a pretence, to shuffle from your shoulders a part of the Debt, which you so truly owe us.---You say, that we have been receiving an interest of five per centum, while you have been receiving an interest of three at most from your lands. But, Gentlemen, have you been receiving nothing in lieu of this difference? Have you not been riding about in the sweet country air, while we have been penned up to breathe and rebreathe the smoke of "the 'Change and of Philpot-lane?" Have not your ears been regaled with the singing of birds and the cry of the hounds, while

ours have been dinned with the rattling of coaches and drays, and the gabble of the Alley? Have not you had the clowns to pull their hats off to you, and the red-cheeked girls to curtesy to you, while we have been squeezing along amongst chimney-sweeps and fish-women, who paid no more regard to us than if we had not been worth a groat? Recollect, Gentlemen, that we cannot come "from the 'Change and Philpot-lane," without first living in the 'Change and Philpot-lane; and, surely, to have lived so long in places that you seem to think confers a sort of disgrace on the inhabitants of them, gives those inhabitants a claim to some little preference in point of gains. The great object of all our toils has been to be able, at last, to go and live like gentlemen in the country; and, as the times of loaning appear now to be over, we are anxious to get to our estates.-----Having, as we think, clearly established our right, we would fain have foreborne to say any thing in answer to your closing observations. But when we consider that our claims are attempted to be weakened in our minds, by an

appeal to our attachment to our happy constitution in church and state, we cannot remain silent. We are, we confess, attached to our country; but, we are not afraid to defy the world to prove, that our King and our Church do not possess a superior place in our affections. But, Sirs, it is impossible for us to perceive the smallest grounds for your alarm, even supposing the *whole* of your estates to be transferred to us. BURKE, we know, got a pretty good pension for himself, another for his widow, and a third for his executors, after he had written so prettily about *Corinthian Pillars*; but there must be *new pillars* sometimes. We have very good Corinthian Pillars come from the 'Change, Philpot-lane, and even from Spital-fields; and why should not more come from the same places? *Levelling*, indeed! What, you think, perhaps, that *we* do not know how to live in large mansions, and to keep the Radicals at a distance? We might not, perhaps, be such able fox-hunters as some of you; and yet, if we are to judge from the ability in this way, shewn by a brother of ours, who was, not many years ago, actually *cross-legged*,

we may suppose that we should not be far behind you, in a short time, even in that prime quality. And as to all matters connected with the preservation of "*Social Order*," we are well known to have given such proof of indefatigable zeal and ardent devotion, that the cause must improve, rather than suffer, in our hands.-----We cannot, therefore, for our lives, perceive any *danger* to Church or State, that could possibly arise from the complete transfer of all your estates to us. But, we repeat, that we want nothing but our *interest in full*. Continue to pay us that, and we are satisfied; but, if you do not pay it us, or pay us the principal, we shall accuse you, according to your own confession, of "*an atrocious breach of national faith*."

Now, my Lord, whatever they may pretend in public, this is the language in private, of the two descriptions of persons. They have an interest directly opposed to each other, and, let who will have *reason*, the Fundholders have *popular opinion* on their side. Nine men out of every ten think, that they are generous in the extreme if they give up one half to be paid the other half; and this is what

they do when they yield a part of their interest equal to a tax upon other property or income. Their bargain is to be *paid without any deduction*; and, if a deduction be made, no matter under what name, they have not their bargain. Yet, such is the state of things, and such the effect of a gradually diminishing paper-money, that, if this bargain be acted up to, they must have all the real property in the kingdom; and this is a fact, the truth of which you will perceive the moment that any scheme of *paying off* begins to be put into execution. And yet, it is very certain, that things cannot go on in the present way. Your Lordship's printed speech, on the last year's bullion bill, contained a passage, which struck me very forcibly. It amounted to this: that the Fundholders were to receive, and ought to receive, *their interest in full, even when specie payments should take place!* The *impossibility* of this was so manifest, that I could not believe that you had ever uttered the words; and I am very much deceived if the proof of the impossibility be not demonstrated to the nation before the month of July next; and that, too, in some legisla-

tive act. To *tax* the Funds is the old way, and it will, probably, be resorted to. But if the tax, to an equal amount, run over other property, the Funds will still be the *gainer*. Whatever is raised upon the land in this way will cause the worth of it in land to be transferred to the Fundholders, who will gain more by the *bullion bill* than they will lose by the tax. Let that bill continue in force for its intended term, and then let it be still *law*, and there will be no need of any project like that of Mr. Heathfield.

The voice of the country decidedly is, that the Fundholders should be "*honestly paid*." And, I think, that this voice is not likely to grow weaker. Men of any discernment know well *who the payers must be*. And it is become a very fashionable opinion, that the *transfer and division of property* is a good instead of an evil. The SPENCEAN PLAN was looked upon as nearly high treason; and yet we now see projectors boldly proposing to seize on the land, divide and sell it! There is no knowing what we may live to see; but, of one thing we may be satisfied, that *the thing itself*, without any impulse from without, will produce a *greater change* than, perhaps, was ever yet seen in the affairs of any country.

Now, I think, that wise men in power, would be *sure* to have the *mass of the people* in good *humour* before this change,

which must come, shall come. To yield upon the question of *Reform* is the only way, in my opinion, of insuring this good humour; for, though the COURIER incessantly calls Radicals Rebels and Rebels Radicals, still they are men, and men, too, who must continue, for the main part, to *live* in the country. The very substitution of the word *Radical* for *Reformer* is a proof of weakness in our opponents. Indeed they discover their weakness and their fears at every turn; while we, in every circumstance connected with public affairs, see grounds of hope and of encouragement.

I am, my Lord,
Your most obedient,
And most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

A PLAN

FOR THE PROMOTING OF SOBRIETY AND FRUGALITY, AND AN ABHORRENCE OF GAMING.

[This, which was No. 20 of the last Volume, is now out of print. I reprint it here, such numerous orders having been sent for it. This mode of doing the thing will save many Readers the expence of a separate reprint.]

TO THE LADIES,

Who were present at the Meeting held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, on Monday, December 13, 1819.

London, 17th January, 1820.

Respected Countrywomen,

I now proceed to perform the task, which you, on the day above mentioned, did me the

honour to commit to my hands. The situation of the country is, if we make the best of it, miserable in the extreme; but, if we use no effort to mitigate the misery, the consequences must necessarily be most deplorable.

The Prime Minister has lately discovered that Government can do very little indeed, in the causing of good or evil to a people. In order to enforce this sentiment, he cited two lines from a very pretty poem; and which lines say: "of all the evils which mankind endure, *how few are those which governments can cause or cure.*" That this doctrine is wholly false, the experience of every nation in the world affords most abundant proofs. Every one must know that if it were not for the heavy burthen of taxes, which now exists in this country, the nation would be flourishing; the corn of other countries might be brought in, in seasons of scarcity; and that our manufactures, owing to the low price at which they might be made, if the taxes did not exist, would find a market in every country in the world. What, then, has caused these taxes? An enormous debt; an enormous standing army in time of peace; a list of enormous sinecures, places and grants. And who caused the debt, the army and the sinecures? The Government caused them. Thus, then, a government can cause evils. And, cannot the Government cure the evils; cannot they reduce the taxes? They can pass laws to protect the Bank of England against pay-

ing their notes in specie, though the law, under which the notes were issued compelled the Bank to pay in specie. The Government could pass a law, authorizing a secretary of state to shut up in a dungeon, any man that he pleased, and to keep him there as long as he pleased, without preferring any charge against him. The Government can make a law to banish men for writing, printing, or publishing any thing, which a special jury may think to have a **TENDENCY** to bring either House of Parliament into contempt! Surely, then, such a government has power to *take off* a considerable part, at least, of the taxes which it has laid on! Surely it has powers to do this as well as to do the things which I have above mentioned, and the list of which things, if they were all enumerated, would fill a volume of no contemptible size.

If, indeed, Government were so very inefficient a thing as the Prime Minister is said to have represented it to be: if it can do so little good: if its power of causing or of curing evils be so very limited, we might ask why we ever heard such a boasting about the *excellence* of this Government of ours; and, with still more eagerness, might we ask why Government is made to *cost us so much*! However, the truth is, that nations are happy or miserable in proportion as their governments are good or bad, wise or foolish.

Nevertheless, there is always something to be done by the People, themselves; and it is

upon the subject of a part, at least, of that which it is the People's duty to take care of, that I have now the honour to address you.

The virtues of sobriety and frugality, and the vices of gaming, are acknowledged by us all. We all say that these virtues ought to be practised, and we all profess to abhor the vices incident to gaming; but it is in the performance in which we too generally fail. It is so much more easy to talk about the thing than to do it, that we are very apt to perform the talking part every day, during our lives, and to put off the doing part till we drop into our graves. Yet there only wants a *beginning* in the performance. It is the want of resolution to *begin* that prevents the good; for if once we begin, we find the path so pleasant that we never turn aside from it. A sober man; a man that never feels the effects of intoxication; a man that knows he shall always be sober; a man that dismisses, wholly and entirely, the use of strong drink of every kind; such a man feels, within himself, that he has one thing belonging to him, at any rate, that makes him a being superior to the common mass of mankind. And the woman who can lessen the quantity of her wants; who can subdue the hankerings of a vitiated taste; who can resort to simple and unexpensive diet and drink; who can see, with content, others indulge themselves in frivolous enjoyments unnecessary to her; such a woman, at

once, feels her superiority; her mind is enlarged and elevated; from being an object of love only, she becomes an object of respect as well as of love; and, my female friends, recollect that respect is by far the most durable of the two.

As your power over the men is far greater than their power over you; as it always has been thus; always must be thus, and always ought to be thus, I shall begin by proposing to you, the adoption of those measures, which I think you ought to adopt at this time: because, as a means of persuasion, example is ten thousand times more powerful than precept. An expression of your desires, may do much; but your example will do a great deal more. A wife may, in some cases, urge her husband on to the adoption of frugal habits; but she will not fail once out of a thousand times, if she put herself foremost, and show him the way.

That which I have to recommend has nothing in it of stinginess or of a discontinuance of hospitality. I despise that sort of virtue (if it ought to be so called) which assumes the garb of niggardliness in house-keeping, meanness in dress, and sadness of countenance. I am for that species of frugality which produces plenty, neatness, and even gayness, in dress, and never-ceasing cheerfulness. The flax, the cotton plant, and the silk-worm, seem to have been created for the purpose of decorating the persons of women; and the man is little better than a beast, who does not value the

manufacturing arts chiefly because they contribute to that decoration. And, as to sadness of countenance and starchedness of manner, they have been invented by hypocrites. Give me the smiling virtues; the laughing virtues; and let those whose God is Mammon, and those who expect to purchase happiness hereafter, by an affectation of unworthiness to live, let such men keep to themselves the enjoyment of the virtues which never smile, but which present themselves to you as the harbingers of approaching death.

It is not, therefore, against real pleasures, against gaiety, against mirth, against a life of cheerfulness and of plenty, that I write; but against mere *waste*; against the throwing away of that which would make life gay and cheerful; against the purchasing of disease and misery with that which might be employed to purchase pleasure, ease, and gaiety. Forty shillings absolutely thrown away upon coffee and tea, if expended upon an article of female dress, would afford pleasures of long duration. Forty shillings squandered upon beer or spirits would half cloath a labouring man from head to foot. The very pence, which are worse than thrown away upon tobacco and snuff, would, if expended upon articles of dress, make a considerable difference in the appearance of a labouring family. Are not these things, then, worthy of the consideration of our countrywomen? Ought not every mother seriously to reflect upon these things, and can she say

that she has done her *duty* until she has set her husband an example, and made their joint example an example to their children.

What would any mother give, who has half a dozen sons and daughters; what would she give when her sons are ten years of age; what would she give, or rather, what would she not give, which she has it in her power to give, if she could have a *certainty* that those sons would *always be sober during their whole lives*? How many uneasy hours has she; how many sighs involuntarily escape her while she is looking at her sons, when the thought comes athwart her mind that they may possibly be drunkards! Yet, she can, if she will, have a certainty that this evil will never happen to her offspring; unless, in the singularly unhappy circumstance of her being wedded to a man on whose obdurate mind neither precept nor example, even when employed by the mother of his children, is capable of producing any effect.

Nature does something: men are born with different degrees of capacity and of passion. But, there is no man who is by nature, a drunkard; nay, there is no man who is not, by nature, sober. Strong drink, of whatever sort, is hateful to the natural appetite. Children, and young people, when they *first* taste it, discover all the marks of strong dislike. The Indians, in America, when they first taste it, call it fire water, and spit it out in great haste and think that the small quantities which they have swallowed are gone

down to burn them to death. But, the Indians become, in time, as fond or fonder of it than those who furnish them with it; and, when drunk, they exhibit themselves in a way, and they commit acts the most odious that can be imagined. To introduce the use of spirits amongst these sober people was an act more worthy of missionaries from the devil, than of missionaries to propagate the christian religion. I saw a drunken Indian once set his own child upon the stump of a tree and shoot it dead. The man was hanged; but what then ought to have been the punishment of the wretches who first introduced the use of spirits amongst this people, who are naturally so sober, and so kind to their offspring?

Yet, it appears to me that we, who know so well the consequences of drunkenness; who have constantly before our eyes such numerous proofs of its fatal effects; it appears to me that we are still more criminal than the wretches who introduced ardent spirits amongst the Indians, if we do not abstain from every thing that can possibly tend to the making of our own children drunkards. It is probable that much more than half the crimes which bring men to an untimely end, are the fruit of the use of strong drink. This will be denied by hardly any body; and yet, we see numerous fathers and mothers, not only doing nothing to prevent their children becoming drunkards; but doing every thing in their power to overcome their natural dislike of strong drink. When I see

a mother giving the child a little drop; and even coaxing it to swallow the accursed thing; it is not for me to say what I would do, if I had the power and the right; but I can safely say that such a woman, if she had a place in my esteem before, ceases, from that moment, to have it. I have observed, throughout my whole life, that the best mothers; those who are most ardently attached to their children, are those who never think of giving them any thing to vitiate their appetites. A child ought to have strong drink presented to it, no more than it ought to have poison presented to it. Perhaps the act of presenting the poison would be the least criminal of the two; seeing that that could only put an end to life, while the former lays the foundation of a life of ruin, misery, and disgrace. Drinking is the parent of improvidence, of incapacity to labour, of poverty, of diseases of all sorts, of feebleness of body and feebleness of mind, and, at last, of a departure from life regretted not even by friends, parents and brethren. When a mother who has actually taught her son to drink, sees him lead this life, and come to this death, what remorse ought she not to feel. It is she, in fact, who is the criminal and not the unfortunate son, who has been the object of her seduction. Let her not blame his boosing companions. He never would have known them if it had not been for her. On her head, and on her head alone, lies the whole of the sin of

causing his sufferings and destruction.

I hope that you will excuse the earnestness of my language upon this subject, and I beseech you not to believe that any sins of this sort are to be wiped off by a regular attendance at a Church or at a Meeting house. True piety consists in the due discharge of our duties towards the whole community of which we make a part, and especially of our duty towards our own flesh and blood. Husbands and wives contract an obligation with regard to their children, much stronger than that which they contract with regard to one another. In the last case, the bond is artificial; it is built upon the injunction of law made by man. But the obligation with regard to children, and especially on the side of the mother, is an obligation imposed by nature herself. Therefore it is that a cruel mother is looked upon, and justly looked upon, as the most despicable creature upon earth. And, I should like to know what act of cruelty can possibly be so great, and so completely past all forgiveness, as the teaching of her child to become a drunkard? Those mothers who voluntarily drive their children from their own breast to the breast of a hireling, are wicked and despicable enough; but those who set deliberately to work to deprive them of the chance of health and happiness, appear to me to be guilty of an act of which there is hardly a parallel in the catalogue of human crimes.

Drive, then, let me beseech

you, the accursed beverage from your dwellings. Let your children never even see it; and, if possible, not hear of it. Yet, in order to effect this; in order to render your powers of persuasion effectual, you must add the force of example in your own department. There are few men so completely brutal as to be beyond the force of both precept and example. And the example which I am about to propose for you to give, demands not the smallest sacrifice at your hands, while it presents you with the greatest advantages.

To discontinue the use of coffee and tea, is to discontinue, in fact, the use of two articles neither of which contains any thing of any one single use to the human frame, and both of which have a tendency to debilitate that frame, and also to destroy its beauty. Coffee and tea, if taken strong, produce a shaking of the nerves and a want of sleep. There are some persons so strong of constitution as to be able to take these things without any immediate injurious effect; but we all know from experience, that they cannot be taken in a strong state without very sensibly affecting our nerves; without producing heart-burnt; and without, if taken in the evening, producing restless nights. It is agreed, on all hands, that they afford no nourishment to the human frame; and, therefore, the abstaining from the use of them can be no possible hardship to any person whatever; while the cost of them (and especially

when we consider the application of the money) is a most weighty objection to their use.

Persons who live principally within doors, and all children, require, morning and evening, something light, in the way of nourishment, and a part of this nourishment consists in something in a liquid state. The materials which I have to recommend, are,

Roasted Wheat, to supply the place of coffee;

Agrimony, Sage, Mint, Balm, Ground-ivy. -- Singly, or any two, three, four, or all, mixed, which will make excellent tea, and may be had at any of the herb shops in London, at one penny a bunch; a bunch being sufficient to last for a week.

A very intelligent and public spirited correspondent, tells me, that the mixture of herbs which he finds most generally liked, and which he has long used himself, is as follows: three bunches of Agrimony, two of Mint, and one of Balm, cut up small, all mixed, and put into a paper bag ready for use. In the mixture, or in the use of these herbs singly, people will be directed by their taste; because tastes differ very much. It should be observed, that milk should always be *boiled*, before it be used. Milk is somewhat of the nature of meat; it comes from an animal, and ought to be cooked before it be taken as food for human beings. The boiling of it, even for young pigs, adds greatly to its nutritious effects. The hard and woody parts of the herbs, particularly of the agrimony and

sage, should be left out, as they tend to give the tea a bitter taste.

Before I proceed further to speak of the manner of obtaining these herbs, I will speak more particularly than I have hitherto done of the *roasted wheat*, beginning by repeating what I have said upon this subject, in a late Register. I have substituted, in the place of coffee, roasted wheat; and I positively assert, that it would be impossible for me to distinguish the beverage made from the wheat, from that made with coffee, except that the former has a rather milder and pleasanter taste than the latter. Same colour when ground; same smell, as nearly as possible; and, I verily believe, that if sold ground, in a shop, not one person out of ten thousand, would be able to distinguish the one from the other, unless he had both before him at the same moment. The fact is, that the coffee is a bean; a split bean, and that, too, of a very coarse and unnutritive quality; while the wheat is, as we well know, a most nutritious grain. This is a matter of so much importance to Females, that I hope you will excuse me if I enter into some detail as to the method of preparing this article; which, as you will presently see, may be prepared in every family in England, Scotland and Ireland, without the smallest inconvenience. A common iron pot is what we make use of for the roasting of the wheat. The pot, first being made very clean, is to be put over a slow fire. When

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it gets pretty well heated, put in the wheat, not being more than a sixth part of the pot full. From the moment the wheat is put in, keep *stirring it constantly and quickly*, until it become as dark coloured as roasted coffee. Then take it out, put it by, grind it and use it in the same manner as coffee. As to *clearing* the wheat coffee, the means are precisely the same as those used for clearing the foreign coffee. Some persons put something into the boiling coffee, in order to clear it. But the best way is this: make a flannel bag, which, when full, is in the shape of a sugar-loaf turned upside-down. Let this bag, at the open end, be sewed round a bit of wire, in a circular form. Put the bag, hanging down, into the coffee pot or mug, and the wire rim will keep it suspended. Put the coffee into the bag. Then pour *boiling* water upon the coffee, until you have as much as you want to drink. The flannel bag will keep back all the coffee grounds, and you will have the coffee fine and clear. You may set it over the fire again to keep it hot. The wheat, at the present price, seven shillings and sixpence a bushel, costs *one penny half-penny a pound*. It loses a fourth part of its weight in roasting, which brings it to *two-pence a pound*, while the most nauseous and villainous coffee that can be bought in retail, costs about *three shillings a pound*.

It may be inconvenient for persons in the metropolis to *obtain the wheat*. For a time this inconvenience may exist; but,

in large towns, we shall soon see shops opened for the selling of wheat in small quantities; and, in that case, the raw wheat, sold by the pound, might probably, and, indeed, it certainly would be, something dearer than wheat, when sold at market, by the Farmers. In country places there can be no difficulty, because small quantities of wheat are every where to be had. A few neighbours may join together and purchase a bushel or two; and those who possess the wheat are always ready to sell. The best wheat, is for this, as well as for every other purpose, the best, and, in the end, the cheapest.

I have now used this beverage myself for more than a month, every morning. I make use of three fourths of the wheat coffee and one fourth boiled milk, with brown sugar; and it appears to me that, as to substance, it is about half way between coffee and chocolate; the coffee having no nutritive quality at all in it, and the chocolate, if made good, being about twice as rich as the wheat coffee; and, indeed, chocolate, if taken for breakfast, by persons who do not take strong exercise, is too gross, and produces a sort of stupifying effect, as any body may experience, whose occupation requires exercise of the memory or of the thoughts.

I have had made to me, since the meeting at the Crown and Anchor, a great number of communications upon this interesting subject of abstaining from the use of heavily taxed articles. These communications

have contained repeated statements of the bad effects of coffee. The writers all agree that it produces *griping*; and, I believe, that if used strong, it will have the effect upon every human being. This fact shows that it was bad in its nature; for this is the way in which all poisons operate, in the first instance; and, I have not the smallest doubt that coffee might be taken in such a degree of strength, as for a quart of the liquor actually to kill, in a few hours, the stoutest man. We do not perceive the evil effects of it, to any thing like their full extent; we do not actually see those evil effects, because we swallow the poison in small doses, and at a distance of time between each; but the thing being bad in itself, must necessarily go on wearing away the constitution. The coffee is a *bean*; and beans, of every sort, are unwholesome to the human frame, in whatever stage of their growth they are eaten. I remember a farmer at a village called *TILFORD*, in *SURREY*, who, when I was a little boy, killed himself by making a heavy meal upon *broad*, or *Windsor beans*. The fact has always remained in my mind; because I have so frequently had to cite it as a motive for dissuading my friends, and particularly my own family, from a liberal use of that vegetable. In the year 1812, a man at *Botley*, whose name was *PALMER*, killed himself by eating kidney beans, at my sheep-shearing. They were dried beans, and had been cooked in the manner that

the French cook them. Beans taken in large quantities, when the animal is hungry, will very frequently kill horses, horn cattle, and even hogs. I had a sow, with a large litter of pigs, which had been driven in the morning from the place where I bought her, and which arrived very hungry and empty. A careless fellow tossed her down a gallon or two of beans; and she was dead before the next morning, though I had given five guineas for her and her pigs not twenty hours before.

The coffee fruit partakes very much of the nature of a kidney bean. I am speaking here of the kidney bean *seed*, and not of the *pod*, which we eat green, and which has no harm in it; but the seed is very dangerous, if eaten in large quantities. In France they are called, in way of derision, *des Bourres Coquin*; which means *Beggar Stuffers*, because the word *bourrer* means to *cram*, to *ram home*, to *stuff out*, or to *blow out*. And the effect of this vegetable is to produce wind in the stomach, and thus to blow out the poor creature's sides. Coffee appears to me to produce precisely in the degree in which it is taken, similar effects; and, therefore, it must be injurious to the constitution, while it cannot possibly have any nourishment in it. A pig will eat of any thing that is nutritious, from a rump steak down to grass; but pigs will no more touch the seed of kidney beans, than they will touch a stone or a bit of iron. Their scent is so fine that they are able to discover whether a wal-

nut has a sound kernel in it or not, even while the outside green husk covers the shell. Wonderful as this may seem, it is a fact which I and my son James have ascertained beyond all dispute. Present a thing to a pig, and, if there be any nutritious quality in it, and it be hungry, it will instantly fall to. Now, I have tried these sagacious tasters with raw coffee, with roasted coffee, and with coffee ground and boiled. I have tried them with tea leaves; with a mess of tea, and with tea thrown down to them in its raw state; and upon no occasion, have I ever found a pig that would not turn from any of these materials with disdain.

The wheat, on the contrary, we all of us know to be nutritious. Bread is very justly called the staff of life. It is the natural food of all mankind. And wheat coffee is bread taken in a liquid state. I need not have done it, but I tried some little pigs with a parcel of the grounds of wheat coffee, and they devoured them in a moment.

It is said, and perhaps truly, that a cup of strong coffee taken after dinner, *helps digestion*. That is to say, people make themselves ill by over-eating, and then they want a species of medicine; a powerful drug to help them off with the load. I dined once with four Monks and a Parish Priest, in France; and, though the Church has always been famous for gormandizers, these gentlemen surpassed, in stuffing, any thing of which I had ever had an idea. They eat till they were actually in a

state of inability to move about; and I remember that while they were drinking their coffee, one of them observed that the discovery of that beverage was a most fortunate event for the Church, for that, he should have been under-ground many years ago, from indigestion, if it had not been for the use of coffee after dinner. But we, at this time, especially, have no need of coffee to remove the effects of heavy meals. At best, then, coffee is of no use, but as a drug; any more than mercury and barks are. These drugs are sometimes of great use; but what should we think of the person who should propose to us to take mercury or barks for breakfast?

Coffee produces if taken late in the evening, great restlessness; dreaming; and head aches in the morning. If taken in the morning, it causes a trembling in the nerves. All this must weaken the human frame; must go on, little by little, undermining the constitution; and must necessarily tend to the shortening of life.

As to tea, its effects are very much like those of coffee. Both of them *astringent*: they both produce costiveness: they are both great dilapidators of the complexion: and both of them, if taken strong, produce *gripping, heart-burn, restlessness, short-lived heat upon the cheek, and a shaking of the nerves*. Both of them are great friends to the Apothecaries and Physicians, who do not get rich by those who have real ailments, really dangerous disorders, so much as by those who do not know what

is the matter of them, and whose stomachs are worn out by the racking effects of these drugs, until they are unable to sustain the exercise of the digesting powers necessary to enable them to take a sufficient quantity of nutritious matter.

I am particularly anxious to impress upon the minds of females a conviction of the dangerous tendency of the use of tea and coffee; they cannot use beer, cider or any strong drink in the morning; and, indeed, females of amiable character, have from habit, a distaste for such things. They stand in need of something light, warm, and liquid in its state, morning and evening. It is habit only which has led to the use of tea and coffee. The taste of these things is naturally bad. The natural taste of the human kind rejects them. We are compelled to qualify them with sugar and milk in order to make them bearable to the palate. The use of them has been fraudulently obtruded upon us during the dormant state of our reason. Let us awake then, resume its sway and shake off the intruders.

When we consider how very large a portion of our pleasure during life we owe to the female sex; when we consider that, after all, it is to them that man is to look for his happiness or his misery; when we consider that if they were withdrawn, the world, and all else that it contains, would be so irksome to us that we should be altogether careless about life or death. When we consider these

things, which every man will acknowledge to be true, how anxious ought we to be to neglect nothing within our power which is likely to tend to the happiness of that sex; and particularly to the preservation of their beauty and their health. For, though sentiment-mongers will read us some very pretty lectures about the loveliness of the hearts and the minds of females, this loveliness is, generally, very difficult to be discovered through a sickly countenance and a feeble and sluggish frame. Cupid has numerous unaccountable tricks and caprices; but, I believe, he has seldom taken up his abode amongst powders and pills, and phials and gallipots. True female wit, fortitude, zeal, courage, and devotedness, are most enchantingly amiable; but, how are they to exist in company with a languid countenance and an enervated frame? If a disordered stomach produces an aching in the head: if an over-night's drinking takes away the morrow's thoughts and memory: if there be this intimate and close connection between the body and the mind, how are we to expect the virtues of the mind to be associates of an enervated body?

I am thoroughly convinced that tea and coffee are the greatest enemies of womankind. They produce those effects upon the nerves which I have before spoken of. They dilapidate gradually, the powers of digestion. Their never ceasing astringent effects produce costiveness; and that, too, till it becomes

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habitual, than which there is not a greater destroyer of beauty and of health, and particularly of the former, which it assails first, and which, having robbed of its rose colour, it substitutes a tawney in its place. To relieve the stomach, drugs are resorted to. But the relief is of short duration. The accursed tea and coffee are at work again, and the destruction of the system goes on. Old age makes its approaches at a time when it ought to be far distant; and if it does not actually arrive, it does a great deal worse, *it makes the beholders believe that it has arrived*: to be taken for forty when she is only thirty, is, perhaps, a great deal worse than death to any female that ever was born.

To preserve themselves from this most cruel predicament; to prolong the blush of the rose to the last moment that nature has destined it to exist upon the female countenance; to effect this, which is of far greater importance than any other thing which the whole of mankind can possibly have a desire to effect; to effect this purpose every argument that the mind of man can suggest, ought to be made use of, in order to dissuade females from the use of coffee and of tea.

As to the herbs which have been mentioned above, as proper to be used, instead of these expensive and unwholesome materials, the taste must be consulted. Some persons will like one better than the other. If there be a demand for them in the metropolis and in great

towns, the gardeners in those great towns will very soon bring forward an ample supply. There being, AS YET, no tax upon sage and other herbs: no exciseman and supervisor to go, as in the case of hops, and take account of the number of plants, and forbid the gathering or the drying until a gentleman comes with an ink bottle at his button hole to take an account of, and lay a tax upon, the produce: this not being the case, as yet, the gardeners will soon furnish a regular and abundant supply of herbs; and, as in all other cases, *competition* will very soon regulate the price. It will be the same as to the selling of the *roasted wheat*. Every one has a right to sell at whatever price he pleases. Nobody has a right to complain of him; because there being no law to give him a monopoly, he can compel nobody to purchase of him. Every thing of this sort regulates itself, if left to itself. There are always persons enough to endeavour to undersell others in the same trade; and, thus where the thing is open to fair competition, it is sure to sell for its real worth and no more. I hope to see the day very shortly, when there will be shops all over the metropolis and in every town in England for the selling of wheat in small quantities; for the selling of roasted wheat, not ground; for the selling of it ground; and for the selling of herbs of all sorts. Thus will the expenditure of the fruit of our labour be confined to the products of our own soil. And, if this be brought about, it will render

more good to agriculture than all the corn laws which the misguided farmers have obtained and are now endeavouring to obtain. The herbs may be grown in every one's garden who has a garden. Neighbours during the summer, will readily give them to one another; but for winter use, some forethought and some measures of provision are required. In America (especially towards the North), where there comes a winter that sweeps every green thing from the face of the earth, or buries it under snow until the spring, one acquires experience as to this matter of making provision for the winter. Sage, Balm, Mint, Pennyroyal, Savory, Rosemary, Thyme, and, indeed, all herbs, are carefully cut or plucked in the summer. The best time for doing this is, with regard to every species of herb, *just before the blossom comes out*; for, as the father of husbandry, TULL, has observed, in his treatise upon Sainfoin, the moment the blossom appears, part of the virtue of the *plant*, leaf and all, is gone, with the smell that arises from the blossom. Thus, the leaves of a cauliflower, cut before the flower comes, are rich and good, but the moment the flower begins to grow the leaves are good for nothing. I tried this experiment with a pig; I threw down some leaves taken at the same time from cauliflower plants in these different states. I mixed the leaves, but in such a way that I could distinguish one class from the other: and it was surprising with what sagacity he

culled out the leaves of the unblown plant, not touching one of the others 'till those of the unblown plant were all eaten. The herbs should, therefore, be cut just before the blossoms come out. They should be cut when the sun is upon them and when they are perfectly dry. They should be laid then upon clean dry boards that have no sap, or other moisture in them; should be dried in a gentle sun, or in a very airy place in the shade, and should be turned very often. If they are put out in a scorching sun they are apt to become crisp and to lose their virtue. When dry, they should not have lost much of the colour they had when growing; nevertheless, it is better to have them dried rather too hastily and harshly, than to let them be too long in drying. In the month of October, the year before last, I dried some mint and some parsley upon the floor of a room where the sun came through the window, and they were very nearly as green as when growing in the garden. We used them through the winter with very nearly their original flavour, and had very good mint sauce with lamb in the month of April; and yet these are the most difficult of all herbs to preserve in a way to make them retain their flavour and their smell. One thing is to be observed, in particular, and that is, that, after the herbs are cut, they should never be suffered to lay out of doors uncovered in the night, and never be one moment in the rain; because the rain, and more especially the

dew, are of a very penetrating nature; and, in the drying again, a great part of the virtue of the herbs escapes.

For my part, I cannot see how a female can be more properly engaged during her hours of business than in attending to objects of this kind which are so interesting in themselves, and the nature and properties of which afford matter for so much pleasing contemplation. Far better is it to be engaged in cares like these; far more respectable; far more innocent; far more compatible with the female character, than to be rattling the dice box, or snapping and wrangling and trieking round a card table. While objects like these present themselves. While the history of the progeny of plants and of flowers, invites the female eye, and calls upon the female pencil to imitate, how can a woman, how can a mother find an apology for sitting down a family of daughters to reading the sublimated nonsense of novels or to learning the cunning and really dishonest arts of the gaming table. What have draught boards, chess-boards, dice-boxes and packs of cards to do in a house where books on plants and trees and flowers and buds are to be found? And especially when these amusements lead on in the most pleasant manner to the practising of that domestic economy without which a wife is rather a curse than a blessing.

The herbs, when properly dried, should be put into paper bags, tied closely up and put away in a place that is never

damp. I cannot help mentioning here another herb which is used for medical purposes. I mean the *wild mallows*. It is a weed that has a leaf somewhat like a *scollop*. Its branches spread upon the ground. It bears seed which the children call *cheeses*, and which they string upon a thread like beads. This weed is perhaps amongst the most valuable of plants that ever grew. Its leaves stewed, and applied wet, will cure and almost instantly cure, any cut or bruise or wound of any sort. Poultices made of it will cure sprains, as those of the ankle; fomenting with it will remove swellings. Applications of the liquor will cure the wringings by saddles and harness. And its operation, in all cases is so quick, that it is hardly to be believed. Those who have this weed at hand need not put themselves to the trouble and expence of sending to doctors and farriers upon trifling occasions. It signifies not whether the wound be old or new. I gained this piece of information upon Long Island from a French Gentleman who was one of BUONAPARTE's followers in captivity, and who was afterwards robbed of three hundred dollars on board an English frigate, never having been able to obtain either remuneration or redress. The hospitality showed him by me was amply repaid by this piece of knowledge. The mallows, if you have it growing near you, may be used directly after it is gathered, merely washing off the dirt first. But there should be some always in the house

ready for use. It should be gathered like other herbs, just before it comes out in bloom, and dried and preserved just in the same manner as other herbs. It should be observed, however, that, if it should happen not to be gathered at the best season, it *may* be gathered at any time. I made a provision of it in the month of October, long after the bloom and even the seed had dropped off. The root is pretty nearly as efficacious as the branches; and it may be preserved and dried in the same manner. We all know what plague and what expence attend the getting of *tinctures* and *salves*, some of which very often prove injurious rather than otherwise. I had two striking instances of the efficacy of the mallows. A neighbouring farmer had cut his thumb in a very dangerous manner, and, after a great deal of doctoring, it was got to such a pitch that his hand was swelled to twice its natural size. I recommended the use of the mallows to him; gave him a little bunch out of my store, it being winter time, and his hand was well in four days. He could go out to his work the very next day, after having applied the mallows the over night. The other instance was this: I had a pig: indeed it was a large and valuable hog, that had been gored by the sharp horn of a cow. It had been in this state two days before I knew of the accident, and had eaten nothing. My men had given it up for lost. I had the hog caught and held down. The gore was in the side, and

so large and deep that I could run my finger in beyond the ribs. I poured in the liquor in which the mallows had been stewed, and rubbed the side well with it besides. The next day the hog got up and begun to eat. I had him caught again; but, upon examining the wound, I found it so far closed up that I did not think it right to disturb it. I bathed the side over again; and, in two days, the hog was turned out and was running about along with the rest. Now, a person must be almost criminally careless not to make provision of this herb. Mine was nearly two years old when I made use of it upon the last mentioned occasion. It is found every where, by the sides of the highway. And, therefore, may be come at and possessed without either trouble or expence. A good handful ought to be well boiled and stewed in about a pint of water, till it comes, perhaps, to half a pint. It surely is worth while, especially for mothers of families, to be provided with a thing like this, which is at once so safe and so efficacious. If the use of this weed were generally adopted, the art and mystery of healing wounds and of curing sprains, swellings, and other external maladies, would very quickly be reduced to an unprofitable trade. However, the great utility of the thing will, I hope, be an excuse, at any rate, for my having thus digressed from my subject, in order to point it out to your attention; for though the uses of this weed must always be known to a great num-

ber of persons, still they must be unknown to greater numbers.

Several persons have written to me, assuring me that they have used roasted wheat for a great number of years. One gentleman says he has used it for twenty years, and has found the good effects of it on his constitution. Thus, then, there appears to me to be nothing wanting to effect this Reform but a little exertion on the part of the females, to break loose from the trammels of idle habit; and, to do this, how numerous and how powerful are the inducements! In the first place, the saving of the money is a very great object. Coffee and tea do not cost less than from fifteen to twenty pounds a year, in a tradesman's family of eight or ten persons. If this money were expended upon any thing conducive to the real pleasures of a family; if it were expended on dress, which adds to the elegance of the female shape and countenance, I should say that I would not hesitate a long time before I would propose the reduction; and, indeed, I would deprive myself of a great many really useful things, rather than subtract from the allowance for female decorations. If my wife must go meanly dressed, or I walk on foot, instead of riding, if I could not sell my horse, I would shoot him and give him to the dogs; but, I trust that no female will be so unreasonable as to wish that any thing useful should be laid aside for the sake of indulging her in the use of articles which cannot possibly do her any good; which cannot

possibly give her any pleasure; but which reason as well as experience, shows must be injurious both to her beauty and her health.

For a family, such as I have just been speaking of, the difference in the expence would not be less than *sixteen pounds sterling a year*. Sixteen pounds sterling will purchase many useful and even elegant things: things which do not perish in a moment: things which are seen as well as used for years. If the mother of a large family, the oldest child of which is twenty, were to reflect that sixteen pounds a year saved during that time would amount to upwards of three hundred pounds; she would feel many a pang at the thought of so much money absolutely thrown away. Sixteen pounds a year will pay the rent of a tolerable house. It will supply a middling family with fuel. It will do many things of solid utility; but I am always supposing that it may reasonably, and of right, be expended upon female dress alone, and then what a difference will it make in the appearance of the females of a family!

Another strong inducement to act upon my recommendation, is, the example to husbands, sons and brothers. It is impossible for a wife to expect that her husband will refrain from his useless indulgencies, as long as she continues to give herself up to hers. This point I have urged before, and will not suppose it necessary to say any thing further upon this part of the subject. When the wife

has once set the example; when she has once driven out the coffee and the tea, I will engage that the pipe, the pot, and the gin glass, will speedily follow. There is nothing so destructive of human happiness as the practice which men are in of spending their evenings *away from their own homes*. To do this, they are induced by the habit of drinking, in the first place. They next contract a love of ribaldry, singing, and of every thing that attends places of resort for drinking. Once habituated to this sort of life, their own fire sides become scenes of dulness and insipidity. They cannot endure the tranquillity of home, after being for some time accustomed to the boisterous mirth of the pot-house. In the midst of their mirth, however, they cannot help casting a look towards the forlorn wife and crying children; so that even their mirth is, after all, but a species of misery; until they become too obdurate to feel for their wife or their children, or even for themselves. Every thing of decent outward appearance becomes then very soon neglected; handsome young men become dirty, emaciated, old looking and despised, at the end of a very short progress; and the wife and children who ought to have been their pride, become their shame. They turn from their offspring with a mixture of indifference and of sorrow; and if their offspring retain the smallest portion of affection for them, they have to thank nature for it and not themselves. Surely such men are

deserving of every mark of disregard and contempt. Surely they are guilty of a violation of every principle of morality, and also a violation of the first laws of nature herself. But, my countrywomen, give me leave to say, that when these things happen, you seldom play well your part. It rarely happens indeed, that women are formed for *direct* command; but *indirectly*; that is to say, by persuasion, by gentle perseverance, by indubitable proofs of affection and devotedness, and especially by *example*, they can command to almost any extent that they please. I am not afraid to say, that when such means are employed, there is not one wife out of ten thousand who does not finally carry every point on which she sets her heart; nay, whether the thing be reasonable or unreasonable. It is to you, then, the females of England, Scotland, and Ireland, that I principally look for this change, this salutary, this absolutely necessary change in the manners of the nation. Let Mr. PLUNKETT, in the House of Commons, express his wish that the husbands amongst the common people, will retire in the evening to "*solace themselves*," as he calls it, with their "*cheerful glass*" their pipe and their pot, and cease to read books about politics. Let this famous gentleman from Ireland, preach up this doctrine as long as he pleases. Listen you to me, and we will speedily break up the clans of boozers and brawlers and set the tradesman, the ar-

tizan, the manufacturer and the labourer *down to his own fire side* with his wife and children; there to "*solace himself*," in conversation with the former and in the instruction of the latter. Look through life, and you will find that the best children are those who have been, not indulged in their whims and fancies by their parents, but those who have had their parents for their constant guardians, and who have been, in their early years, especially, constantly listening to the voice of their fathers and mothers. Children take impressions quicker than grown persons, and the impressions are deeper; but there comes a time for reflection, for observation and for comparison, and when these tell the boy of fifteen that his parents have not done their duty by him, away goes filial affection for ever. And, who shall describe the feelings of that father or mother who can say: "I have lost the love of my child!"

To abstain from drinking when a man becomes married, he must have abstained from it, from his youth up. The evil habit may, indeed, be cured, by proper conduct in the wife; but the suitable time for beginning, is when the child is born. This point I pressed at the beginning of this address, but I beg once more to observe that a most weighty responsibility rests upon that mother who does not take effectual measures to keep her children from indulging in the habit of drinking. Much more depends in this respect upon the mother

than upon the father. Let no mother believe that she has discharged her duty by making her son say his prayers and by putting into his hands little canting tracts about godliness. Keep him sober and he will be a good man. Teach him to be a drunkard, and, perhaps, that species of godliness which you have taught him, will only tend to make him a blasphemer as well as a profligate.

The last inducement to you to set an example of abstinence from the use of the two articles so often mentioned, is, the effect which your example may produce in a public and political point of view. If you remain still unconvinced that a Reform of the Commons' House of Parliament is necessary to restore this nation to freedom and happiness, no argument that my mind can suggest, after all that you have read upon the subject for three years past, will produce that conviction. But, if you have that conviction, the statement which I am now about to make will clearly shew you *in what way* your example will tend to produce that Reform.

It is very evident to me and I hope to you, that there ought to be no taxation without representation. This is the great point with regard to which we are at issue with our enemies. And, though the law as it now stands compels us in certain cases to submit to taxation while we have no vote in the election of representatives, still the law does not, at any rate, compel us in many cases, to pay the taxes that we now pay. Before the

revolution in France, there existed a most enormous and cruel tax, called the *gabelle*, that is to say, a tax upon salt. Fathers and mothers were imprisoned and whipped, even if their children smuggled a handful of salt, though God ordained that the tides of the sea should leave the salt upon the shore. If grown persons were detected in smuggling salt they were made gally-slaves for life. But the tyranny did not stop here; not only were the people punished for obtaining salt without paying the tax; but they were *compelled, under heavy penalties, to purchase a certain quantity of taxed salt?* And yet, there are men insolent enough to tell us that the old French Government was a *paternal* government; and that the revolution was an evil; though it is notorious to us all that this abominable *gabelle* does not now exist, and that the Bourbons would be over-set in a twinkling if they were to propose its re-establishment.

Let us amidst all our calamities, congratulate ourselves that we are not yet *compelled* to purchase coffee, tea, tobacco and strong liquors, and that we are we are not compelled to play with cards which are heavily taxed; to put our money into lotteries, and to disfigure and sicken ourselves by the use of tobacco. No; we are not yet compelled to do these things. If we pay taxes upon these articles we do it voluntarily; and therefore we have nobody to blame on this account but ourselves. If we will not desist from paying taxes in those cases

where the law leaves us at liberty to desist, and that, too, without refusing ourselves any one thing conducive to health of body or gentility of person; if we will not desist in such cases, even when the desisting is beneficial to our health, and manifestly tends to the prolonging of our lives; if we will not desist in such cases we deserve to suffer all that people can suffer from the hand of oppression.

In order that you may see what is the amount of the taxes which are annually raised upon the articles above enumerated, I have looked into the last year's accounts; and though these accounts are made out in a way which might well confuse the brains of the clearest headed man that ever lived, I have been able to make out the following statement of the duties, taking excise and customs both together, raised in this kingdom during the year 1818.

Beer, including duty on	
beer, malt, and hops	£6,867,734
Spirits - - - -	6,978,527
Wine - - - -	2,507,875
Tea, coffee, and cocoa	4,287,239
Tobacco and snuff	2,546,149
Lotteries and cards	233,866
Licences - - - -	876,941
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£23,298,331	

If we were to include the tax upon Sugar, Salt, Soap, Candles, and other indispensable necessary articles used by the common people, the amount would exceed *thirty millions!* And, observe, the whole of the taxes raised in the year, amounted to

only *fifty-three millions!* As to Sugar, it cannot very well be dispensed with; though I remember when a very considerable portion of the people of England desisted even from the use of that article; and why? Because it was **RAISED BY THE LABOUR OF SLAVES!** Judge you, then, how far it becomes us to emulate that example. If we cannot wholly desist, we may desist in part. We may gradually diminish the quantity we use. A great part of what we use now, and a very great part of it, is for the purpose of mitigating the corrosive qualities of the coffee and the tea. Sugar has a great deal of nutriment in it; and, by being mixed with the liquor proceeding from the coffee and the tea, it tends to lessen the bad effects of those articles. But, *wheat*, and herbs such as those that have been named, have no evil quality in them, and, therefore, they stand in need of a less quantity of sugar.

Sugar, though nutritive, is not a very wholesome species of nutrition. It *sours* upon the stomach, if taken in too large quantities. It cloyes and it sickens. Observe where you will, you will find that the healthiest children are those who are bred up with very little or no sugar in their diet. Simple food. Milk, oatmeal, frommety, and bread: these are the proper food for children: never give them sugar and they will never want it; but, if you first create the want, it is cruelty not to gratify it.

A very weighty argument against the too free use of sugar,

or of any thing very sweet, is this, that it always tends to the destruction of the teeth. In America, where sugar is very cheap, a prodigious quantity of it is used in all sorts of ways. The pies are made so sweet that a stranger cannot eat them. Sweetmeats, fruits of all sorts, even down to the Siberian crab, are preserved in sugar. And these sweet-meats are eaten even in labourers' houses, in quantities that it would surprise you to see. This is the cause, and I believe it is the sole cause of that lamentable defect in a considerable part of the females of America; who, in all other respects, are, perhaps, the most beautiful of their sex.

Nothing compensates for a broken, or disfigured set of teeth. Take a lump of sugar and eat it, and you will immediately find that it will make some part of your teeth *ache*. A rich apple, full of sweetness, such as they are in America, will make your teeth ache in a greater or less degree, five times out of six. I have many times observed this in the eating of an apple. On the side which chewed the apple, I felt an aching, when I did not feel it at all on the other side. Very seldom, therefore, did I touch an apple, though the temptation was, for many months in the year, constantly before my eyes, and though it was as strong as that which Eve was unable to resist. But, not to resist, under the conviction that a mere momentary enjoyment would tend to produce lasting disagreeable effects; not to resist, under such a conviction, would have been

not to merit the character of a reasonable creature.

However, if sugar cannot be wholly abstained from, the quantity may be diminished; and thus a part, at least, of the evil will be removed. As to salt, there probably can be no diminution in its quantity, and the same may be said, perhaps, of soap and of candles; for cleanliness is always a virtue, and light we must have, or else we cannot read.

Upon looking over the above stated sums, does not the mind recoil from the disgraceful fact, that this government derives one third of the whole of its means from the taxes paid by the people upon *strong drink and tobacco*? And, what is still more horrible to think of, more than a third of that third; that is to say, nearly seven millions of pounds a-year, is derived from the taxes imposed upon *ardent spirits*! Really, my respected Countrywomen, the men who voluntarily pay this tax are very little entitled to the compassion of mankind. They sin, not only against morality; not only against their families and their kindred; but against nature herself, who has given them a palate which rejects these poisonous materials; but which materials they persevere in swallowing, as if it were to bring themselves down to a level with the most gormandizing of brutes.

It is said, as an excuse for the use of spirits, that they *keep out the cold*. Let a man once persuade himself of that, and he will soon find out that they *keep*

off the heat! That they drive off the heat, is very certain; for, in the Northern parts of America, where the cold is so great that people are frequently *frost-bitten*, and are compelled to have their feet or hands cut off, it is a caution always given to those who are likely to be exposed to the severity of the weather, *not to drink any spirits before they go out*. And, though I have known many persons frozen to death, and a great many more to have their limbs cut off, I hardly recollect a single instance in which the suffering party had not taken spirituous liquors, on his way or before he went out. Spirits are very cheap in those countries. A bottle of rum for sixpence! Of course, thoughtless men will use them. I have a hundred times gone out shooting or hunting upon the snow along with others, each of whom took a canteen of rum, while I took none. I used to suck the snow, which they told me, would give me the pleurisy; but I found that I never had the pleurisy, and that many of them had.--- And as to ability to travel, and to bear the cold, though many of my companions were much stronger and more active than myself, I always found that, at the end of the day, I was the freshest, and by far the most cheerful of them all.

All strong liquors, be they of what sort they may, and, in an exact proportion to their strength, tend to disable the frame from enduring the cold: tend to make the person *chilly*. The reason is this, that they have all an in-

toxicating effect. We clearly perceive that they *stupidify the mind*: and, at the same time, they, in a greater or less degree, *benumb the body*. Consequently, they tend to render it more susceptible of the injurious effects of cold. Look at the man who has been drinking in a pot-house or a gin-shop; and see what a poor creeping and shuddering thing it is, when it has to face a sharp frost or cutting wind. Look at such a man (if man it ought to be called), compared with the man who has a pound of bread and beef within him, and who has washed down his dinner at the brook. Make the comparison, and you will turn from the drinker with disgust and contempt.

A drop of brandy is necessary they say after a *heavy meal*. It helps digestion. So said my French Monks in the case of coffee, but I recollect that they took the drams and the coffee too. They called them *petites gouttes*; that is to say, *little drops*. And the ladies take these little drops as well as the "*lower orders*," or rather more freely. But, supposing these little drops to be necessary after a *heavy meal*; would it not be better not to take the heavy meal? Is a man or woman who dies from over eating, a bit more to be pitied than my sow that killed herself with eating beans? Not so much, for she had not reason to direct her; she was not aware of the danger, and human creatures are.

In short, there is no excuse; there is no apology. It is downright profligacy and wickedness

and beastliness, to make use of strong drink of any description whatever except in certain rare cases where they serve in the way of medicine.

But, when to all the other motives for desisting from the use of these things, we take into consideration the motive of greatly assisting, by means of this abstinence, in the great work of producing a reform in the Parliament, how will any man dare to call himself a Reformer who will not abstain; who will not abstain, even from the use of that filthy, that disgust-creating thing, *tobacco*, which, as I have shewn above, pays to this government, in tax, more than two millions and a half pounds sterling in a year. Habit is very powerful. But, it requires but a little effort, and a very little effort; indeed, to get rid of a habit so idle, an indulgence so out of nature, and so entirely unnecessary to the producing of enjoyments or comfort. It appears to me that those who use tobacco, in any of its forms, must do it, at best, out of pure idleness. And what a thing it is to think of, that men should render their persons disagreeable; and disagreeable to females, too, for the sake of such a paltry indulgence. However, this is a matter which the females may, if they will, put to rights, at once. All that I can say is, that if I were one, the lips that held a quid, or touched a pipe or a segar, should never touch my lips. The French taught me the habit of taking snuff, but it has required only a very little effort to

get rid of the filthy encumbrance.

I should hope that quite enough has been said to produce the desired effect among all those, be they in what rank of life they may, who have any desire to see a Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament, without which, it is my decided opinion that this nation will become the most contemptible upon the face of the earth. The Americans, when they began their struggle against *taxation without representation*, immediately desisted, and entirely desisted, *from the use of tea*, because the tea was sent out to them loaded with tax. This was to serve as a little *beginning*; they saw the design, and this was their mode of resistance. There was not a female in the whole country, except amongst those who were unworthy of the country, and who were finally driven from it, that would make use of tea. They desisted, also, when they saw that a long struggle was advancing, from eating *lamb and veal*, in order that the animals might grow up to increase the stock of animal food; and, in some measure, to supply the place of those articles of produce which would necessarily fall off from the farmers and their sons being engaged in the war. This was a noble instance of self-denial. Such a people deserved to triumph over those who were endeavouring to enslave them. They did triumph; and their children now enjoy the fruit of that triumph. They can now say, "we are really

free; for **HERE THERE IS NO TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION.**"

And shall we, and especially we who call ourselves Reformers, be so base as not to follow this example? Shall we make no effort in the way of action? Shall we do nothing but *talk*, and pretend to wish. If this be our line of conduct, the world, in viewing our fallen, our degraded state, will have the consolation to reflect that we have nothing more than we deserve.

Far different, however, are my expectations. I expect to see all Reformers animated upon this occasion with one spirit. A man should not confine his efforts within himself and family and relations. If he have more knowledge and more zeal than others, he should endeavour to instruct the uninformed and to rouse the lethargic. Every Reform *Society*, of whatever description, whether female or male, ought to use their utmost endeavours, upon all occasions, to further the objects of this address. Persons may very easily form themselves into little communities, little circles so as to be able to reject the company or Society of all those who do not conform. Modes of proceeding will, however, readily suggest themselves; there wants nothing but the *good will*; that once in existence, all the consequences will very soon follow.

It remains only for me to notice one thing relating to any

savings which may arise from the adoption of this system of abstinence. I would advise you all, if you have money, in however small a quantity, to save, not by any means, to deposit it in what is called a *Friendly Society Fund*, or in that other thing which they call the *Bank for Savings*. Because, by an act of Parliament, passed last year, the trustees of money thus deposited, may, at any moment, place all the money *to the account of the Commissioners for the redemption of the National Debt*; or, may at once, deposit it in the *Bank of England*, in the shape of what is called *stock*. This is to keep it *safe*; but, *owners, keep safest!* Besides, Mr. RICARDO, who has, in the House of Commons, been called an *oracle*, has proposed a scheme for the taking away of a part of every body's property, in order to pay off a part of the National Debt. Of course, the Friendly Fund property, and the Saving Bank property will be included among the rest, if this scheme should be adopted. If, therefore, the Reformers *put any money by*; in the name of common sense, let them put it *by in their own boxes*; and above all things, put it by in

silver. Let them never attend to what the newspapers say about *light silver* and *heavy silver*. My advice to you all, is, get together what little you can; put it by safely under your own roof; and *make no talk about the matter!* The time is not far distant when a handful of silver will be a little fortune.

I now take my leave, with expressing my confident expectation that this *Plan* will not have been put forth in vain; and that, our enemies will very soon see that we know how to act in order to provide for our happiness and to secure the means of our restoration to freedom. The longer and more painful the struggle, the more honourable the victory and more durable the benefit. Short efforts seldom produce any lasting good. The growth of real freedom, like that of the oak, is slow. The pains we now endure we may safely reckon on as so many harbingers of future pleasure and happiness, if we do but persevere, *steadily persevere*, in making use of every effort in our power to obtain success.

WM. COBBETT.

COBBETT'S REGISTERS.

Mr. COBBETT will publish, during the ensuing Session of Parliament, a *Parliamentary Register*, in Sixpenny Numbers, of the same size as his *Political Register*; and, like the latter, it will come out weekly, and on the Saturday. The measures of the Session must be uncommonly important; and it is Mr. Cobbett's intention to make this work, by the insertion of explanatory Notes and by other means, as complete, and in all respects as useful, as it can possibly be made. The *Political Register* is now regularly published every Saturday. Booksellers and others, who live in the country, may be regularly supplied with both works, by applying (postage paid) to the publishers, Messrs. CLEMENT and BENBOW, No. 269, Strand, London.

BROOM-CORN SEED.

In one of the Registers, published here, while I was in America, and in the last PART of my Year's Residence, there is an essay on this beautiful and useful plant, which produces the *wisk*, of which the *carpet-brooms* are made. Brooms, made of this same *wisk*, are used to sweep the streets, in New York, while the best of clothes-brushes are made of the same thing! The plant requires strong summer heat. The seed of it will not ripen in England; but, I am of opinion, that the *wisk* would arrive at a state of perfection sufficient for broom-making; and, indeed, a gentleman has sent me a specimen, grown in England, last year, which con-

vinces me that this opinion is correct. At any rate, the plant is beautifully ornamental, and would to a certainly answer the other useful purposes, mentioned in my essay; and which I will fully detail in the *Register*.---The time of sowing is now approaching; and I have imported some seed, which is now for sale in small quantities by Messrs. CLEMENT and BENBOW, No. 269, Strand.---I will give full instructions about sowing and cultivation in my next Register.---There are some of these *brooms* to be shewn as specimens.

N. B. There was a gentleman, whom I saw at Coventry, who talked to me about the broom-corn *wisk*, of which I have a quantity for sale. I will wait a week before I sell it, or offer it, to any body else. The hubbub made me forget both his name and address.

INDIAN CORN SEED.

This is an *early* kind, such as I grew at Botley for many years, and had very fine indeed. Some of the seed is for sale by Messrs. Clement and Benbow.---This is a very rare kind, even in America, and is cultivated only for the table.

WATER-MELON SEED.

Those only who have been in hot countries are, perhaps, to be persuaded, that this is the finest of all summer fruits. I used to grow it at Botley in great perfection; and I have imported a little of the seed. Now is a very good time to sow it. It may be had as above in very small quantities. I have very little; but I wish somebody to try it.